ANALYSIS OF THE QUALITATIVE RESULTS
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This chapter presents briefly the qualitative and interpretative results following from the broad aims, specific objectives and guiding hypotheses stated in the first chapter.

A. RESULTS FROM BROAD AIMS

1. Important landmarks in the early developments relating to higher education in the constituent areas of Travancore, Cochin and Malabar

The important landmarks in the history of education in Kerala which laid the foundation for modern education and paved the way for higher education are summarised in this section. They are analysed in terms of the princely States of Travancore and Cochin and the British Indian Territory of Malabar.

Travancore

Though the missionaries were primarily concerned with the gospel they also brought English education and even modern education through the vernaculars to India. The earliest landmarks we have is that of Rev. William Ringletaube of the L.M.S. who came to Travancore in 1806 and engaged himself in evangelical work as well as the mission of English education. He also opened several schools for
poor children. The C.M.S. missionaries opened two English schools, one at Kottayam and the other at Nagercoil between 1816 and 1819. English education at whatever level it could be given turned out to be the foundation for modern higher education in Kerala. In 1818 Rev. Mead of L.M.S. founded the Nagercoil Seminary, the first institution to give English education in Travancore. It gradually grew into a Secondary College. From 1823 Mrs. Mead and Mrs. Mault promoted girls' education for the poorer sections in a boarding school within the seminary.

Gouri Parvathi Bhayi's Rescript in 1817 proclaimed that the state would defray the entire cost of education of its people in order that there might be no backwardness in the spread of enlightenment among them. Though this pertained to elementary education in the vernaculars and the amounts actually spent were small, it laid the foundation for modern education in the state and also conceded the principle of government responsibility for education. Gouri Parvathi Bhayi also gave liberal support to C.M.S. missionaries in their educational enterprise, especially for the financial support to the C.M.S. Seminary at Kottayam which turned out to be a progressive centre of higher education in Kerala. A number of scholarly missionaries adorned the C.M.S. Seminary and the curriculum was quite
imposing with the inclusion of several classical languages, Mathematics, History, Geography and the like. The Rani was advised by Col. Munro, British Resident for Travancore and Cochin from 1810.

Inspired by the English Seminary at Nagercoil, Maharaja Swathi Thirunal started an English school at Trivandrum in 1834 as a Government Free School using the services of gifted Englishmen. In 1866 the school presented the first batch of students for matriculation examination of the University of Madras. An English School for girls was opened by the Zenana Mission in Fort, Trivandrum with a building provided by the Government. In 1864 Maharaja's English High School for Girls was opened at Trivandrum. This later developed into a first grade college for women, Cochin.

One year after Gouri Parvathi Bhayi's Rescript in Travancore the Cochin Maharaja issued a proclamation (1815) to establish 33 vernacular schools with the avowed object of training of young men for state service as writers and accountants. But these schools did not do well and were later abolished in 1832. The English schools were established in all the taluks some years later which provided a more acceptable training for government service.
Rev. J. Dawson opened an English school at Mattancherry in 1818 with aid received from Government. This school did not thrive long. Another school was established in 1835 by the Resident Mr. Casamajor, where the children of Jews were taught English, Hebrew and Malayalam. In 1837 an English school was opened at Trichur and another for the education of Princes and others. In 1845 another school was opened at Ernakulam. These schools remained at elementary level till 1875.

The school at Trichur started by Mr. Brandenburgh and flourished under the leadership of Mr. Griffen Kelly began to decline and the Government took up the management. The school at Ernakulam was placed under the charge of a European Master of Arts, Mr. Sealy, who came to be called 'the Arnold of Education in Cochin'. In 1868 it was able to present students for matriculation.

Malabar

Malabar came under British rule by the end of the 18th century. It had the village system of Ezhuthupallis (as in the rest of Kerala) and the Namboothiri system of Matoms. The Madras Board Act of 1834 gave momentum in the Presidency but did not have much impact in Malabar, especially with the Muslim population.
The Basel Evangelical Mission founded by Herman Gundert opened a primary school at Kallayi (Calicut) in 1848. Later it grew into the Malabar Christian College. The Mission opened the first English school at Tellicherry in 1857. Mr. Edward Brennen, a master attendant at Tellicherry, left Rs.12,000/- to establish an English school for all boys and girls of all castes, creeds and colours. First it was managed by missionaries and later taken over by government and grew into the famous Brennen College.

2. The important historical developments with regard to the higher education from the time of starting the first college (1866 to 1957)

The first government English school opened by Maharaja Swathi Thirunal grew up steadily and opened F.A. classes in 1866. Under the able guidance of Principal Ross the first batch of students for F.A. were presented in 1868 and for B.A. in 1870. The Law classes were opened in the college in 1875. Several faculties were opened in the college in 1875 of which the Chemistry Chair (1884) with Prof. H.H. Reade and the Philosophy chair made famous by Dr. Harvey and Prof. Sunderam Pillai are noteworthy. In 1888 the Holy Angels Convent was opened at Trivandrum and it won the credit for being the first Girls' High School in South India to present students for matriculation (1888).
of the Madras University. The school was raised to the status of a second grade college in 1896, but closed the F.A. section in 1906. The Maharaja's High School for Girls was given affiliation as a second grade college by the University of Madras in 1897. It later became a first grade college.

At the private sector the Missionaries began to open colleges in the 1920's. The Union Christian College, Alwaye was opened in 1921 as a second grade college and raised to a first grade in 1923. St. Berchman's college was opened in Changanacherry in 1922.

1924-25 also saw the bifurcation of the H.H. Maharaja's College, Trivandrum into a Science College and Arts College which was shifted to Thycaud. The Government Normal School started in 1910 was upgraded into a training college. It was at first part of the Maharaja's College of Arts and but was made independent in 1932-33. The provision for Post-graduate and research degrees in Physics, Chemistry and Zoology was made in the same year in the Maharaja's College of Arts. Affiliation was given to the Honours course in Malayalam Language and Literature in the College of Arts in 1935-36. Before 1924, i.e., the end of the reign of Sri Mulam Thirunal, a Sanskrit College, an Ayurveda College and a Law College had been opened at Trivandrum. Oriental
Manuscript publication was organised as a separate department. An Archeological Department had been founded and technical schools were opened. Private agencies were given encouragement in their educational activities. Government Schools were thrown open to boys and girls of the so called untouchable communities. The education of backward class was given special attention.

A Grant-in-Aid Code was passed in 1895 and the Government could utilize private effort to start schools in backward districts. Dr. Mitchell was appointed the first Director of Public Instruction in 1909. The matriculation examination of the University of Madras was substituted by the Secondary School Leaving Certificate scheme in Travancore in the same year. This helped in the clear demarcation as well as articulation of the school and college stages.

Cochin

In the princely State of Cochin the Maharaja's School at Ernakulam ably rejuvenated by Mr. A.F. Sealy presented pupils for matriculation examination in 1868 and was affiliated to the Madras University as a second grade college in 1875. In 1873 English schools were started in all important centres of the state which was another support for higher education. In 1887 a Government school was
opened for education of caste girls in Trichur and another girls high school was opened in St. Teresa's Convent. This school was raised to a college in 1925 and soon after developed into a first grade college. In Maharaja's College, Ernakulam, a post-graduate course in English Language and Literature was started in 1932-33 and B.Sc. pass courses in 1934-35.

During 1875-76 the high school at Ernakulam ably managed by Dr. D.M. Cruickshank of Aberdeen was raised to a second grade college with F.A. classes. It became very famous and later upgraded in 1925.

An aided second grade college, the St. Thomas College, Trichur was opened in 1918-19. It was upgraded as a first grade college in 1925. The Ramavarma Sanskrit College, Tripunithura was formerly opened in 1914. It can be traced to the Sastra classes offered by the 'asthana pundits' of the Cochin palace and facilitated by a Sanskrit Encourage-ment Committee constituted by the H.H. Sri Rama Varma. The Palace library was also transferred to the college. The students were allowed to appear for the Oriental Title examination of the University of Madras.

As in Travancore, Cochin also established a Director of Education. The famous educationist Mr. Sealy was the Director and helped in the development of both colleges and
articulating them with the schools. Grants-in-Aid to private schools were given by the Ruler in 1889. A Department of Vernacular Instruction was organised in 1890 to give impetus to the education of the masses. In 1892 the vernacular and English departments were amalgamated.

Girls of all castes were admitted to the Lower Secondary department of the school at Trichur from 1903. The first batch of girls from the school appeared for the S.S.L.C. in 1911. There was no training college in Cochin. They had to make arrangement for the reservation of seats at Trivandrum, Madras, Mysore etc.

Malabar

The school started at Tellicherry with the endowment of Mr. Brennen was raised to the status of a government college with the F.A. classes in 1890-91. It was raised to the status of a first grade college in 1947.

The story of the Government Victoria College is interesting. A rate school started in Palghat was raised to a government high school in 1877. It was transferred to the Municipality in 1884 and under the headmastership of Mr. Barrow (1890-1903) became reputed as the largest school in Malabar. It was transferred back to the government of Madras in 1919. By 1925 it became a first grade college.
An English school started in 1877 by the Zamorin of Calicut was thrown open to all in 1878. In 1879 it was raised to a second grade college with a grant from Guruvayoor Devaswom. It was raised to a second grade college with a grant from Guruvayoor Devaswom. It was raised to a first grade college in 1951 and was renamed as Guruvayoorappan College.

Realising the inevitability of a university in Travancore the government of Travancore appointed two committees, the first in 1919 and the second in 1923, to investigate and report on the desirability and feasibility of a University for Travancore. The Committees reported in favour of starting a University for Travancore. But the question of educational reconstruction engaged the serious attention of government only after the investiture of His Highness Sri Chithira Thirunal Bala Rama Varma, the Maharaja of Travancore, with ruling powers in November, 1931.

Another Committee appointed in 1932 reported that they were not able to recommend to take immediate steps to establish a University for Travancore. But there was much to be done by way of re-organisation in the existing colleges. The Committee further recommended that the
government of Travancore should consult with His Highness the Maharaja of Cochin for the establishment of a University for Travancore.

All the colleges in the Travancore, Cochin and Malabar were affiliated to the University of Madras and even the Oriental Colleges which were not affiliated were sending students for the examination conducted by the University of Madras. The educational decision makers of Travancore began to feel the disadvantages of isolation of the colleges from the main stream of University administration at Madras which was more than 500 miles away, the lack of the University library and extension service facilities and other academic benefits enjoyed by the constituent colleges of Madras.

The idea of the university was materialised with the assumption of office of the Dewan, Sir C.P. Ramaswamy Aiyar. Approving the Memorandum submitted by Mr.C.V. Chandrasekharan, the Special Officer appointed for this purpose, the University of Travancore was established under the Regulation I of 1113 M.E. (1937-38 A.D,) promulgated by His Highness the Maharaja of Travancore on 1st November, 1937. Thus the University of Travancore was established after much deliberations, hesitations and forward and backward movement extending to about two decades.
The University of Travancore was the 16th University in India, the 3rd among the Princely States, the 4th to separate from the University of Madras and the 1st in the area, later constituted as the State of Kerala.

In the statement of the Chief aims of the Travancore University the importance of (i) the development of Technical and Technological education in the state (ii) furtherance of original research in the various branches of applied science and (iii) conservation and promotion of Kerala Art and Culture - are indicated. It is interesting that the Preamble gives a very progressive and heterodox interpretation regarding the culture aim in the phrase: "And whereas it is further desirable in the interest of the cultural and educational development of all classes of our subjects, to provide for the conservation and promotion of Kerala Arts and Culture". It is also interesting to note that wide representation of multiple interests and democratisation including students representation was built into the Act.

The development of higher education in the erstwhile State of Travancore and later the State of Kerala, received a fillip with the establishment of the University of Travancore which subsequently developed into the University of Kerala in 1957.
At the time of the inception of the University of Travancore, ten colleges which had been affiliated to the University of Madras were reaffiliated to the new university. The Government of Travancore took up the responsibility for the running of higher education in the state.

Even before the formal structuration of higher education and the formation of Faculties and Departments, the sense of organised presentation of the disciplines of knowledge can be seen. Thus the C.M.S. Seminary included Sanskrit, Hebrew, Syriac, Greek, Latin, Mathematics, History, Geography etc.

From 1866 onwards when students appeared for the F.A. and later B.A. of Madras University the point of control of the faculties was not Trivandrum or anywhere else in Kerala but Madras. But it is very interesting to note that very eminent scholars both Europeans and Indians adorned the colleges of Kerala particularly at the Maharaja's College, Trivandrum. Famous professors in Chemistry, Physics, English Literature, History, Philosophy, Sanskrit, Tamil and Malayalam have left their marks here even before the formation of Travancore University.

It is interesting to note that in the early stages of the University of Travancore the Faculty of Science started with a highly technological orientation consistent with its aims stated at its inception: Sylviculture, Forest Utilization, Forest Management, Engineering Botany, Physical Science. The Marine Biology Laboratory and Aquarium were formally opened in 1940-41.

The intermediate science grouping of 1942 included, besides conventional groupings like Mathematics, Physics, and Logic, some heterodox groupings like Mathematics, Physics and Indian Music and Biology, Chemistry and Indian Music. It reminds us of the medieval scholastic curriculum which divided the seven liberal arts into the trivium comprising the humanities and quadrivium comprising science which included Arithmetic, Geometry, Astronomy and Music.

It may be noted that the institute of scientific research called the Trivandrum Central Research Institute was placed under the University in 1939. The Dewan and
Vice-Chancellor Sir C.P. Ramaswamy Aiyar wanted that University should conduct applied research relevant for the conditions of Kerala "as the future of Travancore was in no small measure bound up with the progress that these researchers might make." Dr. K.A. Moudgill was the first Director of Research in the University. The Department of Applied Chemistry included Water Analysis, Industrial Chemistry and Bio-chemistry. The Departments of Applied Physics, Marine Biology and Fisheries, Agricultural Research (Economic theory), Mycology and Entomology, Public Health Laboratory and the observatory came under it. Pure science was also not neglected as seen from post-graduate level.

This is apart from the Faculty of Technology where Textile Technology, various branches of Engineering and various levels of courses were offered. It is interesting to note that Dr. H. Parameswaran, Professor of Physics at Madras Presidency College, was brought in as the Director of Technology.

The History Department in the Faculty of Arts was able to acquire the library of Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar and started the Journal of Historical Research with eminent Professors as editors. The Faculty of Education started
with the L.T. Degree with eminent professors like Dr. Jeevanayagom. All these indicate that the earliest phases of the University of Travancore were very imaginative, broad and interdisciplinary approach was used in conceiving the Faculties and Departments.

Apart from Faculties the University had institutions like Oriental Manuscript Library, Department of Publication, Physical Education, Labour Corps and the like which contributed much to the progress of higher education in the state. New degree and diploma courses were introduced in the different colleges under the University.

There was a phenomenal expansion of higher education in Kerala. A good number of Arts and Science Colleges were started. In addition to the Christian educational agencies newly conscientised social groups like the Nair Service Society, the Sree Narayana Dharma Paripalana Yogam, entered the field of higher education. Between 1948 and 1955 seventeen Arts and Science Colleges started functioning in the private sector and affiliated to the University of Travancore. At the same time a few professional colleges also came into being, both in public and private sectors. Several educational agencies sought permission to start
Teacher Training Colleges. During the period 1950-61 thirteen such colleges were started. It is a record in the History of the University.

3. The growth and development of higher education in its various dimensions from 1957 to 1990.

In 1957 separate Faculties of Fine Arts and Engineering were constituted. No new Faculties were created as per the Statutes framed under the 1957 Act. In the statutes framed under the 1969 Act the Faculty of Social Science was newly instituted by bifurcating the earlier Faculty of Arts. The Faculties of Engineering and Technology were merged into one. The Faculties of Veterinary Science and Agriculture ceased to be Faculties of the University in view of the establishment of a separate Agricultural University in 1971. The Kerala University First Statutes, 1977 framed under the Kerala University Act (1974 Act 17 of 1974) provides for sixteen Faculties. All the sixteen Faculties have been functioning properly.

A notable change was made in the educational administration with a view to facilitating quick disposal of work. Four directorates were created: (i) Collegiate Education (ii) Technical Education (iii) Public Instruction and (iv) Text Books and Examination. Two training colleges at
Trivandrum, seventeen Arts and Science Colleges in Cochin and Malabar area were transferred from the control of the Director of Public Instruction to the Director of Collegiate Education. With the formation of the Kerala State and the promulgation of the Kerala University Act eighteen institutions were transferred from the control of the University to the control of the Government, starting with the University College, Trivandrum, two Law Colleges, the Engineering College, Trivandrum, three other Technical Institutes and the Training College, Trivandrum, eighteen colleges and institutions from the Malabar and Cochin areas were admitted to the privileges of University of Kerala.

University Centres were opened at Ernakulam and Calicut under the 3rd Five Year Plan.

Two Engineering Colleges were started in the private sector, viz., Thangal Kunju Musaliar College of Engineering, Quilon (1958) and Mar Athenasius College of Engineering, Kothamangalam (1961).

At the time of its Silver Jubilee (1962) the University of Kerala had affiliated to it 48 colleges, 3 Medical Colleges, 2 Law Colleges, a Veterinary College, an Agricultural College, an Ayurveda College and 7 Oriental Title Institutions. It had 54,799 students on roll of which nearly 33% were women.
The Secondary Education Commission Report had recommended the extension of Secondary course to higher secondary by the addition of a year and the institution of three year degree course instead of two year course. All the South Indian States including Kerala restructured the collegiate stage from 2+2 to one year pre-university plus three year degree, the pre-university course being held at the collegiate stage as a transitional measure. Kerala also started on these lines in the early sixties, but shifted to 10 year schooling plus two year pre-degree course plus three year degree from 1964. This innovation resulted in the starting of 33 new colleges all except one in the private sector, 17 more colleges followed in 1965 and seven in 1967. Eighteen of these colleges were later upgraded. Kerala can take the credit for innovating the 10+2+3 scheme before the Education Commission Report (1964-'66). But the price it had to pay for this innovation and starting a number of junior colleges was that the +2 stage tended to freeze at the collegiate stage and the vested interests tried to keep it there for ever as part of the higher education system instead of moving it to the higher secondary stage where it really belongs.
The University of Calicut was established by Governor's Ordinance on 23.7.1968 followed by the passing of the Calicut University Bill by the State Assembly on 20.8.1968. The Colleges in the northern districts were transferred to this university. The same threefold objectives underlined during the opening of the Travancore University are repeated here.

The Cochin University of Science and Technology was established as a Federal University by the Act of 1971 with particular emphasis on Post-graduate studies and research in the applied science, viz., technology, industry and commerce.

The Kerala Agricultural University was established by an Ordinance and ratified by an Act in September, 1971. It was formally inaugurated on 1st February, 1972. It has two campuses one at Mannuthy (Trichur) and the other at Vellayani (Trivandrum). It has 26 research centres and 7 constituent colleges.

The Kerala University Act of 1974 broadened the basis of student representation in University bodies (15 in the Senate and one in the Syndicate) and Post-graduate students and research scholars' representation in Academic Council.
There is also representation to many other interests. The principle of communal representation in University posts was also established. New colleges continued to be affiliated. In 1982 the University of Kerala had 125 affiliated colleges (24 government and 101 private).

In 1983 the Government College of Homeopathy, Trivandrum was provisionally affiliated. In 1985 the Lakshmi Bai National College of Physical Education, Kariavattom was affiliated to the University of Kerala. After this no new college was affiliated up to 1990.

Thanks to the starting of Mahatma Gandhi University, on 2nd October, 1983 Kottayam the size of the Kerala University further shrunk and by its Golden Jubilee Year 1987 there were 60 affiliated colleges with a total of 1,12,711 students and 5,676 teachers. Of the sixty colleges 43 represent Arts and Science Colleges, 2 Law Colleges, 2 Engineering Colleges, 2 Medical Colleges, 7 Training Colleges, one Fine Arts College, one Homeopathy College, one Ayurveda College and one Physical Education College.

The University has at present (1990) 33 Teaching and Research Departments. The majority of the Departments are located at the Kariavattom Campus and the rest in different localities in the City, the most important being in the
main University office campus. In addition to the University Departments of Teaching and Research and Affiliated Colleges, the University also maintains several Centres and Institutions for carrying on specialised studies and research in special areas. Apart from these there are Department of Publication, Department of Physical Education, Malayalam Lexicon, Libraries, Health Centres, N.S.S., N.C.C. etc.

The quantitative and qualitative developments of the Departments and other institutions clearly indicate the tremendous progress that has been made by the University in the field of higher education.

In recent times there has been a phenomenal increase in the number of students seeking admission to colleges for higher education. The colleges which were in existence were not in a position to cope with the increased demand for admission. Consequently the university decided to start Evening Colleges, Private Registration Scheme, Correspondence Courses and Shift System. Implementation of those programmes helps to a great extent in the development of higher education in Kerala.
B. CONCLUSION PERTAINING TO THE SPECIFIC RESEARCH QUESTIONS

In addition to the broad objectives of the research, certain specific research questions were posed to guide this investigation. The answers to these questions emerging from this study are summarised below.

1. Social motivations behind the starting of Higher Education

Ever since Bentick's acceptance of Macaulay's Minutes, the expectation of white collar jobs in the British administration came to be the dominant motive for seeking English education and consequently for English oriented higher education. As the bureaucratic wing expanded the number of jobs also increased. But the higher education system which was expected to make this demand expanded even faster so that the number of educated unemployed began to grow. After independence the expansion of higher education was extremely rapid and a student entering higher education could be expected to be aware of the low probability of getting suitable job matched with his qualification. In spite of this the rush for higher education grew unabated and became a universal phenomenon in post-independent India, whereas in the early days of British rule it was confined to the few.
In fairness to Macaulay who laid the foundation for English education being accepted as a norm in India, it must be said that his motives were not merely utilitarian but cultural. He felt that English culture would rejuvenate Indian society and cause a renaissance. Even many Indians like Raja Ram Mohan Roy who were masters of Indian literature and culture felt that English could be a powerful factor for the modernisation of India. Maharaja Swathi Thirunal who was a versatile master of Indian culture also endorsed this modernisation and cultural motivation for learning English and consequently of higher education.

While many entered the higher education stream for the utilitarian or modernisation aims there were throughout many great teachers committed to the sheer delight of learning and there were also at least a minority of students who enjoyed the pleasures of intellectual pursuits and research which university could offer.

It is interesting to note that the Travancore University was started with a high focus on applied science and technology related to exploiting the rich natural resources of Kerala. The early organisation of faculties and programmes were also fully in consonance with this objective. Later technological and practically oriented
higher education tended to split off from the University but still the newer universities tend to repeat the same technological objectives in their preambles.

Fostering of Kerala culture was another major objective emphasised by the Travancore University and repeated by the later universities. One of the most heterodox and progressive pronouncements stated in the Preamble to the Travancore University Acts relates to this "Conservation and promotion of Kerala Arts and Culture" aim to the furtherance of the interests of the cultural and educational development of all classes of people. This is a very laudable motivation on the part of the ruler and the administration. But it is doubtful whether this complex task has ever been seriously attempted.

2. The agencies responsible for starting higher education Institutions in Kerala

Some of the scholarly missionaries of the C.M.S. and L.M.S. taught a fairly ambitious and advanced curriculum in their Seminaries even though they were not structured at that time as higher education. Even after higher education became formally structured, Christian Missions continued to play a dominant role in the higher education of Kerala.
The Catholics came relatively late into the field but once they entered they organised some of the most efficient institutions, but not of the excellence comparable to Loyola College, Madras or St. Joseph's College, Trichy. The Orthodox Church also played its role in the development of higher education, though at first they were resistant to modern education which was introduced to them 'in the form of evangelisation by the more scholarly C.M.S. missionaries, with the financial support of a Hindu Queen, impelled by a secular British Resident Representative'.

It may be noted that the princely rulers of Kerala and their secular advisers were extremely sensitive to the importance of modern education and higher education. Whereas the missionaries had to work against odds in many places in their educational endeavour they found very strong support from the rulers, particularly of Travancore. Lands and buildings were liberally donated to them. The models which the missionaries set up were studied carefully by the secular rulers and the government institutions started which gave leadership to higher education. The study of the Nagercoil Seminary by the Maharaja Swathi Thirunal and the starting of English education with the help of Mr. Roberts is a typical example. In the Cochin area an 'Arnold' was discovered and utilized in the
personality of Mr. Sealy who rejuvenated the institutions and finally became the Director of Public Instruction. The scholarly German Missionary Herman Gundert whose service to Malayalam language is unique was used for sometimes as Inspector of Education.

Besides the missionaries, other religious and social groups like the Sanadhana Dharma, the N.S.S., S.N.D.P. and Muslim Groups also entered the field. The academic control and leadership came into Kerala only in 1937. In the earliest stages of higher education in Kerala the final academic control was vested in the University of Madras. Later the University of Travancore expanded into the University of Kerala, further bifurcated into Calicut and Mahatma Gandhi and other Technical and Agricultural Universities and took charge of the final academic planning, execution and control.

The state was also an important agency initiating and controlling higher education and is discussed in the next section.

3. The role of the State in establishing and popularising higher education in the state

In the early stages government set up model institutions like the Maharaja's English School, Maharaja's College of Arts and Science, Maharaja's College for Women, Government Training College etc. But when they found that
this level of institutions could not be replicated in the different parts of the state, they encouraged private enterprise but aided them with liberal grants. Now the salaries of teachers of private institutions which constitute the majority are fully met by government. But some private institutions are moved by mercenary motives or act violative of the law. In such cases government have to step in to see that justice is done. The organisation of the Directorate of Collegiate Education, the Directorate of Public Instruction and the Directorate of Technical Education were attempted means by which government could achieve the ends of education and particularly higher education.

4. The democratisation experiments and the spread of higher education in the state

When the University of Travancore was planned provision was made for a widely varied group of interests to be represented. Even students' representation was contemplated. This tendency has continued in the later universities also and at one stage as many as 15 students were represented in the Senate. On the whole student representatives have done well and acted responsibly.
Apart from participation in the decision making process the question of extending Higher education to all sections of the people is an important aspect of social democracy. Some Missionary institutions like the L.M.S. have led in this field even giving the disadvantaged groups an initial advantage over the forward groups in the matter of education. Various other social groups also gradually entered the field to ensure the widest participation and protection of their rights through higher education.

In a caste-bound society all the castes could not enter the portals of the school at the initial stage. So at the time of the early founding of English schools by government it should not be assumed that all were free to enter. But gradually social legislation came permitting all, including the depressed classes to higher education. Later concessions and privileges were given to enable them to make up for their earlier disabilities so that social justice could be obtained.
5. Special forces in operation in establishing the first university in the state

In the opening of the Travancore University, there was the motive of local pride and reaction to be controlled by a body more than 500 miles away. The need for local relevance, the possibility of developing human resources needed to tap the natural resources of the state, the need for cultural rejuvenation emphasising local culture were predisposing forces in the formation of Travancore University. The role of great personalities, like the dynamic and versatile genius Sir C.P. Ramaswamy Aiyar, Dewan and Vice-Chancellor and also the devout and committed Maharaja Chithira Thirunal and many other personalities laid the foundation for the first university.

6. Influence of the first university on the other universities of the state

The Travancore University was very imaginatively planned with the focus on technology, applied science in relation to environment and culture. In the early years these plans were also executed efficiently, intelligently and with the interdisciplinary and social responsibility stance. But gradually some of these applied sciences were transferred to specialised research agencies and away from the university.
So, while the further universities repeated the old aims they tended to function in a relatively conservative manner. The problem of autonomy of disciplines and protection of vested interests also prevented interdisciplinary and heterodox transactions. The starting of separate universities for technology and agriculture also tended to make the general universities more academic in the limited sense. Some of the institutional pathologies developed during the expanding phases of the first universities could be carried into the later universities more easily than the positive factors.

C. INTERPRETATION OF THE DATA COLLECTED IN THE STUDY TO TEST THE GUIDING HYPOTHESES

1. The Major hypothesis

The major hypothesis in focus was "The spread and acceptance of the western model of higher education in Kerala was the result of an attempt to achieve vertical mobility and occupy positions of power in Government and society by members of the upper strata of society in their attempt to share power with their imperial masters."

This hypothesis is substantiated with certain qualifications and dialectic. The earlier model in the Indian society of achieving prestige and power was through what M.N. Sreenivas called 'Sanskritisation' - adopting
the language, culture and manners of Brahmans and the other upper castes. English education, particularly higher education presented a new method of sharing power with the modern forces through English education. Naturally the upper strata of Indian society who were sharing power through the earlier mode of 'Sanskritisation' would now turn towards the modern mode of Westernisation. It would be seen that most of the Dewans and earlier functionaries of government in the 19th century and early 20th century were from the upper strata. The western mode of higher education facilitated this because the lower strata were still groping between the twin ambitions of 'Sanskritisation' and 'Westernisation'. The upper strata had one aim achieved already and it was simply a case of moving from one position of strength to another and higher education was the means for it.

But education in theory is meant to give a person an achieved status. The first few decades of English education in India however did not substantiate this because society in Kerala was highly discriminative and certain castes were debarred from freely taking part in social activities and even in schooling. There were in fact one or two schools expressly meant for princes and upper classes. But even in the Government English Schools equality of entry was
not achieved for some decades. But it was achieved after some time, thanks to the effort of the C.M.S. missionaries and many Hindu leaders preaching equality. A stage came when concessions and compensatory justice was given to the depressed and backward classes. In the L.M.S. and some C.M.S. institutions this opportunity for the lower strata existed right from the beginning. The S.N.D.P. which was moving from 1913 for the uplift of the lower sections began to start colleges from 1948.

In this setting the upper strata also seeks to protect itself from the effects of compensatory justice. So it seeks to take the maximum advantage of higher education. The Sanadana Dharma group and the Nair Service Society also started colleges in the 1940's and 1950's. The Muslims and certain non-missionary Christian groups also entered the field in right earnest. This dialectic of attempting to use the western model of higher education to achieve vertical mobility and to prevent falling down in the social ladder by various strata (upper and lower, different religious and communal groups) continues and it would be interesting to see how meritocracy and genuine egalitarianism will thrive in the context of higher education.
2. Conclusions relating to other hypotheses

(a) 'The educational thinkers of Trivandrum and later broader unit of Kerala have floated educational ideas relating to educational structures, social relevance etc. and even attempted reform measures in higher education much ahead of the generation of such ideas in the national scene'.

This hypothesis is amply substantiated. The imagination with which the Travancore University Act and its preamble were formulated and the early measures taken in the light of the Act are perhaps unprecedented in this country. It has been the usual practice to set up the aims of university in terms of liberal education, culture, knowledge, character etc. The Education Commission Report (1964-'66) is supposed to have set up the priority to development, science and technology as against the broad culture emphasised earlier. Thirty years before the Education Commission, the Travancore University Act emphasized technical education, technology, applied science etc. and the way in which the University Research Institute operated in 1930's and early 1940's is also a model to even the national institutes.
The 10+2+3 pattern was in operation in Kerala in 1964 and probably the Education Commission (1964-'66) got the idea from it. But the transitional location of the +2 could not easily be shifted down due to inertia and other forces.

(b) 'Kerala has launched certain potentially democratic and egalitarian reforms ahead of the other states'.

Once Kerala followed the social distance rules of castes very strictly, even translating them into physical distance rules provoking Swami Vivekananda to call it a 'lunatic asylum'. Today Kerala is a place where people of different castes and strata rub shoulders with each other on an equal footing much better than in most other states. This is largely due to education and particularly higher education, among the institutional factors. The contribution of social and ideational leaders, labour movements etc. also should not be underestimated. Kerala led in giving students representation in University bodies and they have usually done well. The Student Unions in Kerala are very active and when they act positively and progressively they set an excellent example. Student welfare measures, National Service Scheme activities etc. also catch the attention of observers. But when students go wrong or when they are deliberately misled by vested interests very few people dare to question them or to guide them.
(c) 'The dialectic between genuine equality of opportunity and meritocracy has not been adequately resolved in Kerala'.

In Kerala the egalitarian mode in social transactions has set in more naturally than in most other cities. But equality of opportunity does not mean identity. It can be dialectically transacted with meritocracy. This is important for realising the aims of a university. In Kerala there are some instances of progressive courses like the special B.Sc. which permitted hardworking and talented students to achieve more during a specific period being scrapped as being discriminatory. On the other hand the top ranking students in a formal written examination are being idolised and covered widely by the press. Distinctions in sports and art competition are also admired. But experiments in progressive and flexible ways transacting the academic business of the university are easily branded as non-egalitarian.

(d) 'The democratic tendency in Kerala shows itself in the bold presentation of multiple points of view. But there is a tendency for this to degenerate into a clash between multiple vested interests. The clash has often stood in the way of Kerala losing the benefits of the ideas which Kerala itself has initiated into the national stream.'
An observation of the transactions in university bodies like the Senate, Academic Council in Kerala would be an interesting treat to watch for the observer as presenting multiple, divergent and bold voices, though sometimes in high decibels. There are also powerful groups of students and teachers. These groups sometimes operate like vested interests and block progressive measures. It is true that Kerala launched the 10+2+3 scheme even before the Education Commission (1964-'66). But the +2 was actually a pre-degree and was expected in the long run to be incorporated into the higher secondary school system. But taking advantage of this scheme over 50 junior colleges were started and this became a vested interest in higher education. The management and examination of these students consumed most of the time and resources of the university and the university could not attend to its proper function. Keeping this stage in the colleges prevented the colleges from getting many of the benefits offered by the U.G.C. in time. It also prevented the schools from getting the benefits which they would have got under the central scheme, if they had been higher secondary schools. Because of this students are denied the benefits of some of the most stimulative schemes of the N.C.E.R.T. Rational attempts at correcting
the situation have been misinterpreted and stalled. Ad hoc arrangements at solving the problem can in the long run create more problems than they solve.

A very progressive course started at the University of Calicut providing training to college teachers called Master of College Teaching (M.C.T.) had to be dropped after a few years because of the multiple pressures and pulls. This course was more broad-based and integrated than many of the other alternatives provided for collegiate teacher training and the model now offered by U.G.C. in the Academic Staff Colleges.

(e) The dialectic between the small and the big often resolves itself is very interesting ways with reference to the development of higher education.

'Small is not only beautiful but also effective'. Some of the plans and practices of the University of Travancore in the early stages of its existence can be summarised in these words. But soon this university began to affiliate more colleges. When it was expanded into the University of Kerala covering the whole state it acquired some of the pathogenic components of a big affiliating university. Though the teaching departments did continue they became a minor concern of the university. When Calicut and Kottayam (Mahatma Gandhi) Universities separated
the University of Kerala did become smaller again but it is doubtful whether it regained its original beauty. The big office establishment developed to manage the whole Kerala still continues and takes predominance over teaching and research. The challenge is to identify small points of progressive operations even within this 'big' so that the university can move towards desirable goals in effective ways.